



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

Edinburgh Research Explorer

Laryngeal realism revisited: voicelessness in Breton

Citation for published version:

Iosad, P 2012, 'Laryngeal realism revisited: voicelessness in Breton', Paper presented at 20th Manchester Phonology Meeting, Manchester, United Kingdom, 24/05/12 - 26/05/12.

Link:

[Link to publication record in Edinburgh Research Explorer](#)

Document Version:

Peer reviewed version

Publisher Rights Statement:

© Iosad, P. (2012). Laryngeal realism revisited: voicelessness in Breton. Paper presented at 20th Manchester Phonology Meeting, Manchester, United Kingdom.

General rights

Copyright for the publications made accessible via the Edinburgh Research Explorer is retained by the author(s) and / or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing these publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

Take down policy

The University of Edinburgh has made every reasonable effort to ensure that Edinburgh Research Explorer content complies with UK legislation. If you believe that the public display of this file breaches copyright please contact openaccess@ed.ac.uk providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.



Laryngeal realism revisited: voicelessness in Breton

Pavel Iosad
Universitetet i Tromsø/CASTL
pavel.iosad@uit.no

20th Manchester Phonology Meeting
26th May, 2012
University of Manchester



Plan

- ▶ Setting the scene, Part I: laryngeal realism, Element Theory, and the status of H
- ▶ Setting the scene, Part II: pre-sonorant voicing and its interpretation
- ▶ Bothoa Breton is a “H language” phonologically despite its Romance-like obstruent system
- ▶ Added bonus: there is a ternary contrast on the surface, and it is better implemented in feature-geometrical terms



Laryngeal realism

- ▶ Classic position: $[\pm\text{voice}]$ is all there is, most recently Wetzels & Mascaró (2001)
- ▶ “Laryngeal realism” (Iverson & Salmons 1995, 1999, 2003a,b, 2007; Avery 1996; Honeybone 2001, 2005, 2008, forthcoming; Jessen & Ringen 2002, *inter alia*)
 - ▶ “L languages” (Romance, Slavic, Dutch?, Yiddish?): short-lag VOT vs. consistent prevoicing in stops — \emptyset vs. $[\text{voice}]$;
 - ▶ “H languages” (English, German, Welsh, Turkish): long-lag VOT vs. variably voiced stops — $[\text{spread glottis}]$ vs. \emptyset .
- ▶ Similar approaches in GP/DP/Element Theory (e. g. Harris 1994, 2009; Harris & Lindsey 1995; Backley 2011)



Phonetic essentialism: some issues

- ▶ Issue 1: H often associated with $[\text{spread glottis}]$ — undue focus on stops and VOT
 - ▶ Fricatives can show $[\text{spread glottis}]$ phonological activity irrespective of VOT (Rice 1994; Vaux 1998; Iverson & Salmons 2003b; van Oostendorp 2003)
 - ▶ Logically, glottal spreading does not necessarily entail positive VOT, it can just inhibit voicing
 - ▶ Inconsistent with surface behaviour (e. g. English coda glottaling)
- ▶ Issue 2: phonetic bias
 - ▶ H languages often tend to have variable voicing in stops: assumed to be “passive”, reflecting its lack of specification (e. g. Jessen & Ringen 2002; Jansen 2004; Honeybone 2005)
 - ▶ Corollary: categorical presence of laryngeal activity implies *phonological* specification (Ringen & Helgason 2004; Petrova et al. 2006; Helgason & Ringen 2008; Beckman et al. 2009, 2011)



Phonetic and phonological patterning

- ▶ What if we only look at **phonological** patterns when dealing with **phonological** representations?
- ▶ Phonetics should not determine phonology (cf. Rice 1994, *passim*)
- ▶ It should be logically possible to have a “H language” with “L-type” phonetics
- ▶ E. g. with H stops realized with short-lag VOT
- ▶ Rather obvious proposal
 - ▶ GP/DP circles: Cyran (2010, 2011);
 - ▶ Also Blaho (2008).
- ▶ Problem: evidence sometimes hinges on pre-sonorant voicing
- ▶ Cyran (2011) on Kraków/Poznań Polish: PSV is the mirror image of final devoicing, i. e. H deletion



Phonological problems with PSV

- ▶ Especially acute in a contrast-based framework
- ▶ If PSV is treated as a phonological spreading process...
 - ▶ ...where do the vowels and sonorants get redundant voicing specifications?
 - ▶ They are voiced because there is full specification
 - ▶ They receive redundant [+voice] postlexically
 - ▶ ...why does PSV sometimes do strange things?
 - ▶ In some Breton dialects (e. g. Jackson 1960), PSV in stops parallels [x] ~ [h]
 - ▶ In some Dutch dialects PSV creates [g], which is otherwise marginal at best



Representational solution

- ▶ The representational solution is to assume that PSV derives from the same surface underspecification process that gives variable voicing of lenis stops in H languages
- ▶ Jansen (2004) for West Flemish
- ▶ Colina (2009) for Ecuadorian Spanish
- ▶ Cyran (2011) for Kraków/Poznań Polish
- ▶ Solves the phonological problems very nicely
- ▶ But is PSV phonological?



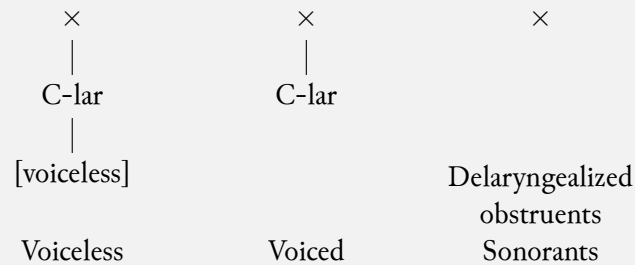
Phonetic problems with PSV

- ▶ Strycharczuk (2010): Poznań Polish PSV not neutralizing → no evidence for the H/L question
- ▶ Strycharczuk & Simon (forthcoming): West Flemish PSV not assimilatory, involves categoricity (optional choice between categorical variants), inconsistent with the surface-underspecification analysis
- ▶ Are we entitled to use PSV evidence for phonological representations?
- ▶ Not unless there is other robust phonological evidence
- ▶ Which is why I'm here today



The proposal I

- Bothoa Breton (Humphreys 1995) contrasts three types of consonants on the surface



- In other words, voiced obstruents are less structurally marked than voiceless obstruents (Causley 1999; Rice 2003)



The proposal II

- ▶ Explicit formulation of an old insight:
 - ▶ Carlyle (1988): “elsewhere” redundancy rule assigns [+voice] to obstruents;
 - ▶ Krämer (2000): ONSET VOICING
 - ▶ Hall (2009): DEFAULT VOICING
- ▶ Key criteria
 - ▶ Phonological activity of [voiceless];
 - ▶ No phonological activity of [voice] separate from [voiceless];
 - ▶ Word-final delaryngealization: evidence from interaction with floating features supports the surface-underspecification treatment of pre-sonorant voicing



Inventory

- The segment [h] is isolated, but is it [voiced] or [voiceless]?
- Obstruent system Romance-like with prevoicing (Bothorel 1982; Humphreys 1995)

Manner	Labial	Coronal	Postalveolar	Palatal-labial	Palatal	Dorsal	Glottal
Stops	p b	t d				k g	
Affricates			tʃ dʒ				
Fricatives	f v	s z	ʃ ʒ				h
Nasals	m	n			ɲ		
Laterals		l					
Rhotics		r					
Approximants	w			ɥ	j		

- ▶ Actually, can be either, depending on context:
 - ▶ [h] or [ħ] word-initially, before a (voiceless) consonant, word-medially after [l r]
 - ▶ [x] utterance-finally or word-finally
 - ▶ [ɦ] or [ɣ] in voiced contexts
- ▶ Phonologically, it is clearly voiceless



Word-level phonology

- ▶ I give suffixed forms to avoid final devoicing
- ▶ Assimilation:

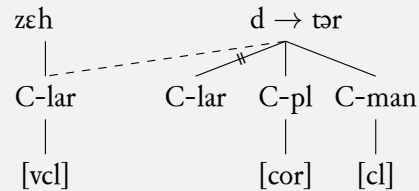
- (1) a. (i) [ɛs'kɔ**b**jən] 'bishops'
 (ii) [ɛs'kɔ**p**tɪ] 'diocese'
 b. (i) ['tɒm] 'warm'
 (ii) ['tɒm**d**ər] 'heat'
 (iii) ['zɛ:ho] 'to dry'
 (iv) ['zɛ**h**tər] 'drought'

- Preservation of the marked (Causley 1999; de Lacy 2006): assimilatory neutralization preserves the bigger structure



Assimilation: the geometry

- Assume something compels two adjacent obstruents to share a laryngeal specification...
- ...and don't think too much about delinking vs. coalescence of C-lar nodes...



Complications

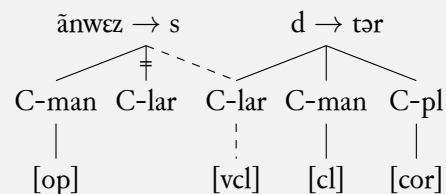
- In fact, obstruent clusters are mostly voiceless in Bothoa Breton

- (2) a. (i) [ãn'wɛ:zo] 'to offend'
 (ii) [ãn'wɛstər] 'humiliation'
 b. (i) ['ka:zəz] 'cat'
 (ii) ['bjan] 'small'
 (iii) [kas'pjan] 'kitten'

- Some sort of licensing requirement forcing the addition of [voiceless] to multiply linked C-lar (cf. van Oostendorp 2003)



The geometry



- Why is this important?
- Because postlexically the situation is quite different



Further evidence for [voiceless]

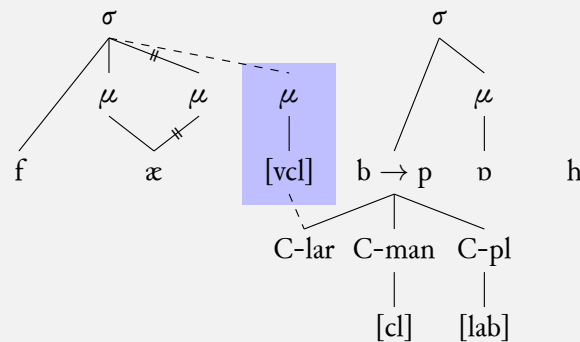
- “Provection”: associated with certain suffixes
 - Voiced obstruents devoice
 - Vowels in closed syllables shorten
 - Voiceless obstruents and sonorants unaffected

- (3) a. (i) [fæb'li:zən] 'weakness'
 (ii) ['fæ:b] 'weak'
 (iii) ['fæpəh] 'weaker'
 b. (i) ['ka:zəz] 'cat'
 (ii) ['kasad] 'to be on heat (of cats)'



Analysis

- I suggest the facts are best analysed with a floating mora associated with a C-lar[vcl] feature



- Evidence for the activity of [voiceless]
- Some forms still retain the [h]: ['skā:] 'light', ['skā:(h)ɸh] 'lighter'



Word-level phonology: summary

- Apart from final devoicing (to which we return), there is little evidence for the marked status of voiced obstruents
- In particular, they are not triggers of assimilation
- Voiceless obstruents and [h] demonstrate phonological activity:
 - Preservation in assimilation
 - Triggers in additive processes
- Important generalization: at the word level, obstruent clusters neutralize to voiceless
- Robust evidence for the phonological activity of [voiceless]



Further evidence for [voiceless]: the prothetic mutation

- Triggered by certain proclitics
- Voiceless obstruents unaffected; voiced ones devoice

- (4) a. (i) ['ka:z] 'cat'
 (ii) [o 'ka:z] 'your (pl.) cat'
 b. (i) ['brø:r] 'brother'
 (ii) [o 'prø:r] 'your (pl.) brother'

- Vowel and sonorants are prefixed with [h]:

- (5) a. (i) ['alve] 'key'
 (ii) [o 'halve] 'your (pl.) key'
 b. (i) ['lɛvər] 'book'
 (ii) [o 'hlɛvər] 'your (pl.) book'

- Best analysis: [h] coalescing with obstruents
- Corollary: [h] is [voiceless]



Pre-sonorant voicing

- Bothoa Breton seems to have it

- (6) a. (i) ['kɔgəw] 'roosters'
 (ii) [kɔg iz'maj] 'Yves-Marie's rooster'
 b. (i) ['tɔkəw] 'hats'
 (ii) [on ,tɔg 'al] 'another hat'

- Although it doesn't sound very phonological
- « Il faut se rappeler [...] que l'alternance sourde/sonore, qui représente la catégorie plus importante de ces modifications, n'est pas, sur le plan phonétique, un simple choix binaire : on rencontre assez souvent, non seulement des sourdes douces, mais aussi des consonnes à sonorité décroissante. Plus le débit rapide et l'articulation relâchée, plus les assimilations sont poussées. » (Humphreys 1995)



Pre-sonorant voicing

- ▶ Phonetic data not available
- ▶ Still, I analyse this (and final devoicing) as word-final delaryngealization à la Jansen (2004); Colina (2009)
- ▶ Crucially, there is more evidence for the lack of specification
- ▶ One piece of evidence is that word-final obstruents become *voiced* before voiced obstruents

- (7) a. ['lɔst] 'tail'
b. [lɔzd 'bɛ:r] 'short tail'

- ▶ Which is precisely the opposite of what happens at the word level
- ▶ But couldn't this just be a reranking at different strata? Well, yes

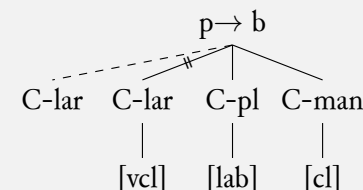


Devoicing sandhi, part I: lenition

- ▶ The lenition mutation involves voicing of stops

- (8) a. [pəwr] 'poor'
b. [o ,vro: 'bəwr] 'a poor country'

- ▶ Under the present assumptions, it must be the docking of a floating C-lar node



Devoicing sandhi, part II: the sandhi

- ▶ Some words beginning with voiced stops in isolation undergo devoicing when following an obstruent (Krämer 2000; Hall 2009)

- (9) a. [gāntæ] 'with them'
b. [də 'ga: kāntæ] 'to carry with them'
c. *[də 'gaz gāntæ]

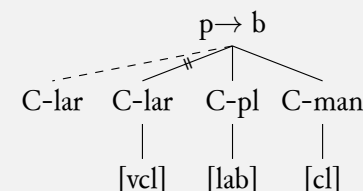
- ▶ Crucially, the same unexpected voiceless cluster is found in lenition contexts (although it is usually described as a “failure of lenition”)

- (10) a. ['ko:z] 'old'
b. [o ,ga:dər 'go:z] 'an old chair'
c. [on ,i:liz 'ko:z] 'an old church'
d. *[on ,i:liz 'go:z]



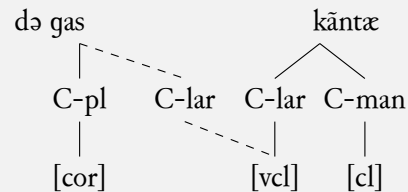
Analysis

- ▶ I suggest that both types of phenomena can be unified in terms of a C-lar floating node
- ▶ It is better to dock to an unspecified obstruent than to a specified one
- ▶ If there is no suitable site to the left (sonorants and vowels cannot be laryngeally specified), dock to the right → lenition.



Analysis

- If there is a suitable site to the left, dock there
- (Stratal alert!) Word-final obstruents come delaryngealized from the word level
- Docking to the left creates a domain for the spreading of [voiceless]



How is that evidence for underspecification?

- Normally, C-lar[vcl] does not spread across a word boundary
- Sequences of a nasal and a (delaryngealized) stop undergo variable progressive assimilation of nasality in pre-sonorant position

- (11) a. ['dǎn:] 'tooth'
b. ['dǎnd al] 'another tooth'

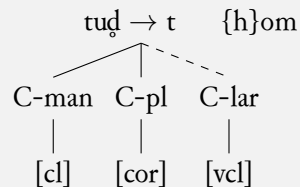
- In this respect, they differ from sequences of a nasal and a stop that has acquired a floating C-lar[vcl] feature (again!)

- (12) a. Floating C-lar[vcl]
(i) [om] 'our'
(ii) [tut om 'amzər] 'all our time'
(iii) *[tut om 'amzər]
b. After nasals
(i) [gǎnt i 'hwɛ:r] 'with his sister'
(ii) *[gǎn: i 'hwɛ:r]



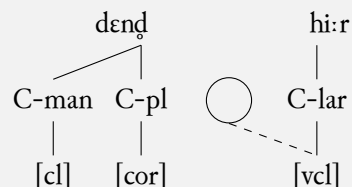
No [vcl] spreading across a word boundary

- Familiar analysis...



- But the C-lar[vcl] from an actual segment does not do this:

- (13) a. [dɛn: 'hi:r] 'long teeth'
b. *[dɛnt 'hi:r]



Conclusion

- (There is a similar story to be told about prefixes)
- Both at the lexical and the postlexical level, there is ample evidence for the marked nature (phonological activity) of the feature [voiceless]
- The evidence for the phonological activity of [voice] is weak, despite the phonetics
- Crucially, a distinction must be made between contrastive non-specification (bare C-lar) and underspecification (no C-lar)
- Laryngeal underspecification of word-final obstruents makes sense even if we do not view pre-sonorant voicing as an argument
- But it surely is a nice result for the surface-underspecification theory of PSV



Problems with phonetic essentialism I

- ▶ There are two types of empirical problems with laryngeal realism
- ☞ Unexpected categoricity
 - ▶ An “H language” like German is predicted to have variable/“passive” voicing of lenis stops
 - ▶ Apparently borne out in German, English, Welsh, Turkish, Irish...
 - ▶ Counterexamples:
 - ▶ Overspecified, fully voiced lenis stops: Swedish (Ringen & Helgason 2004; Helgason & Ringen 2008; Beckman et al. 2011), possibly Île de Groix Breton (Ternes 1970)
 - ▶ Lenis stops with categorical short-lag VOT and no passive voicing: Icelandic, Scottish Gaelic
 - ▶ Confer also categorical voicing in German fricatives (Beckman et al. 2009)
 - ▶ On the other hand, these overspecified categories tend to be relatively inert phonologically (cf. Ringen & Helgason 2004)



Problems with phonetic essentialism II

- ☞ Passive voicing isn't
 - ▶ Westbury (1983); Westbury & Keating (1986): English speakers do expand the supraglottal cavity for lenis stops, it just happens to be insufficient to sustain voicing
 - ▶ Kingston & Diehl (1994, 1995); Kingston et al. (2008): “lenis/voiced obstruents” are a category that English speakers cue, even if there is no consistent closure voicing



Substance-free to the rescue

- ▶ The present approach resolves both issues
- ▶ “Lenis” obstruents in H languages are contrastively specified for C-lar, not underspecified because of lack of contrast
- ▶ Overspecification is expected
- ☞ Substance-free: the realization is language-specific
 - ▶ Prevoicing as in Swedish
 - ▶ Devoicing as in Icelandic
 - ▶ Multiple cues as in English (German? Welsh?)
- ▶ Also explains why English voicing is not entirely passive
- ▶ Still compatible with English being a H language, *pace* Kingston et al. (2009)



Conclusions: Breton

- ▶ Both Breton is best treated as a language where voiceless obstruents are more marked than voiced ones
- ▶ Despite its Romance-like phonetics
- ▶ There is a ternary contrast *on the surface*, with delaryngealized obstruents in weak (neutralization-inducing) positions
- ▶ Privative features and feature geometry reflect markedness relationships better than binary features



Conclusions: laryngeal realism

- ▶ Substance-free laryngeal realism (“laryngeal relativism”; Cyran 2011)
- ▶ Languages can be H or L irrespective of their phonetics
- ▶ Surface underspecification is less widespread than often suggested
- ▶ Surface underspecification expected only in contrast-neutralization conditions, rarely across the board
- ▶ Does not invalidate the main insight

Trugarez!



Things to ask

Is there real data?

- ▶ Sorry, not yet. Treat this as a falsifiable prediction.

Ask me about...

- ▶ Prefixes (see bonus slides)
- ▶ Richness of the Base: what happens to delaryngealized obstruents in the input
- ▶ Surface underspecification and pre-sonorant voicing: a rôle for categorical distributions



Bonus: prefixes I

- ▶ Two productive prefixes: /had/ ‘re-’ and /diz/ ‘not’
- ▶ Behave like pwords in many respects
 - ▶ Consistently stressed
 - ▶ Final consonants behave like word-final ones
- ▶ /had/ is easy

- (14)
- | | | |
|----|--------------|-----------|
| a. | [ˈdesko] | ‘learn’ |
| b. | [ˌhaˈd-esko] | ‘relearn’ |

- ▶ Secondary stress on light syllable (otherwise rare)
- ▶ No devoicing (*contra* Hemon 1940; Press 1986)
- ▶ It’s just a pword



Bonus: prefixes II

- ▶ /diz/ is harder

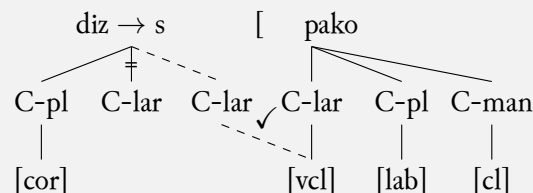
- | | | | | |
|------|----|------|---------------|-----------|
| (15) | a. | (i) | [ˈalve] | ‘key’ |
| | | (ii) | [ˌdiˈzalve] | ‘opening’ |
| | b. | (i) | [ˈpako] | ‘pack’ |
| | | (ii) | [ˌdisˈpako] | ‘unpack’ |
| | c. | (i) | [ˈbaːdio] | ‘baptize’ |
| | | (ii) | [ˌdizˈvaːdio] | ‘rename’ |

- ▶ Seems to be /diz/
- ▶ Causes lenition (/b/ → [v])
- ▶ This means we could have expected *[dizbako], but obstruent clusters are expected to be voiceless...
- ▶ Why not *[ˌdisˈfaːdio] then?



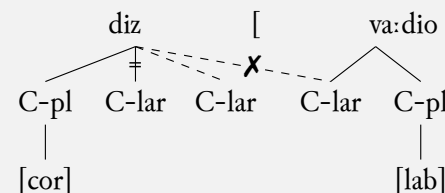
Bonus: prefixes III

- ▶ I suggest it is /diz + {C-lar}/
- ▶ In [di'zɛlv], C-lar docking is vacuous
- ▶ In [dis'pako], devoicing is entirely parallel to devoicing sandhi (recall prefixes are also pword-like domains)



Bonus: prefixes IV

- ▶ There are two explananda with [di'va:diø]
- ▶ Lack of cluster devoicing: spread of C-lar blocked across a word boundary, no incentive to epenthesize [vcl]
- ▶ Lack of coda delaryngealization: floating C-lar provides the feature



References I

- Avery, Peter. 1996. *The representation of voicing contrasts*. Toronto: University of Toronto dissertation.
- Backley, Phillip. 2011. *An introduction to Element Theory*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Beckman, Jill, Pétur Helgason, Bob McMurray & Catherine Ringen. 2011. Rate effects on Swedish VOT: Evidence for phonological overspecification. *Journal of Phonetics* 39(1). 39–49.
- Beckman, Jill, Michael Jessen & Catherine Ringen. 2009. German fricatives: coda devoicing or positional faithfulness? *Phonology* 26. 231–268.
- Blaho, Sylvia. 2008. *The syntax of phonology: a radically substance-free approach*. Tromsø: University of Tromsø dissertation.
- Bothorel, André. 1982. *Étude phonétique et phonologique du breton parlé à Argol (Finistère-Sud)*. Spezed: Diffusion Breizh.
- Carlyle, Karen Ann. 1988. *A syllabic phonology of Breton*: University of Toronto dissertation.
- Causley, Trisha. 1999. *Complexity and markedness in Optimality Theory*. Toronto: University of Toronto dissertation.
- Colina, Sonia. 2009. Sibilant voicing in Ecuadorian Spanish. *Studies in Hispanic and Lusophone Linguistics* 2(1). 1–18.



References II

- Cyran, Eugeniusz. 2010. *Complexity scales and licensing in phonology* (Studies in Generative Grammar 105). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Cyran, Eugeniusz. 2011. Laryngeal realism and laryngeal relativism: Two voicing systems in Polish. *Studies in Polish Linguistics* 7.
- Hall, Daniel Currie. 2009. Laryngeal neutralization in Breton: loss of voice and loss of contrast. In Frederic Mailhot (ed.), *Proceedings of the 2009 annual conference of the Canadian Linguistic Association*, .
- Harris, John. 1994. *English sound structure*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Harris, John. 2009. Why final obstruent devoicing is weakening. In Kuniya Nasukawa & Phillip Backley (eds.), *Strength relations in phonology* (Studies in generative grammar 103), 9–46. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Harris, John & Geoff Lindsey. 1995. The elements of phonological representation. In Jacques Durand & Francis Katamba (eds.), *Frontiers of phonology: atoms, structures, derivations*, 34–79. Harlow, Essex: Longman.
- Helgason, Pétur & Catherine Ringen. 2008. Voicing and aspiration in Swedish stops. *Journal of Phonetics* 36(4). 607–628.
- Hemon, Roparz. 1940. *Grammaire bretonne*. Brest: Gwalarn.



References III

- Honeybone, Patrick. 2001. Lenition inhibition in Liverpool English. *English Language and Linguistics* 5(2). 213–249.
- Honeybone, Patrick. 2005. Diachronic evidence in segmental phonology: the case of obstruent laryngeal specification. In Marc van Oostendorp & Jeroen van de Weijer (eds.), *The internal organization of phonological segments* (Studies in Generative Grammar 77), 319–354. Mouton de Gruyter.
- Honeybone, Patrick. 2008. Lenition, weakening and consonantal strength: tracing concepts through the history of phonology. In Joaquim Brandão de Carvalho, Tobias Scheer & Philippe Ségéral (eds.), *Lenition and fortition* (Studies in Generative Grammar 99), 9–93. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Honeybone, Patrick. forthcoming. Lenition in English. In Terttu Nevalainen & Elizabeth Closs Traugott (eds.), *Handbook on the history of English: Rethinking approaches to the history of English*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Humphreys, Humphrey Lloyd. 1995. *Phonologie et morphosyntaxe du parler breton de Bothoa en Saint-Nicolas-du-Pélem*. Brest: Emgleo Breiz.
- Iverson, Gregory K. & Joseph C. Salmons. 1995. Aspiration and laryngeal representation in Germanic. *Phonology* 12(3). 369–396.



References V

- Kingston, John, Randy L. Diehl, Cecilia J. Kirk & Wendy A. Castleman. 2008. On the internal perceptual structure of distinctive features: the [voice] contrast. *Journal of Phonetics* 36(1). 28–54.
- Kingston, John, Aditi Lahiri & Randy L. Diehl. 2009. Voice. Unpublished MS.
- Krämer, Martin. 2000. Voicing alternations and underlying representations: the case of Breton. *Lingua* 110. 639–663.
- de Lacy, Paul. 2006. *Markedness: reduction and preservation in phonology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- van Oostendorp, Marc. 2003. Ambisyllabicity and fricative voicing in West Germanic dialects. In Caroline Féry & Ruben van de Vijver (eds.), *The syllable in Optimality Theory*, 304–337. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Petrova, Olga, Rosemary Plapp, Catherine Ringen & Szilard Szentgyörgyi. 2006. Voice and aspiration: evidence from Russian, Hungarian, German, Swedish and Turkish. *The Linguistic Review* 23. 1–35.
- Press, Ian. 1986. *A grammar of Modern Breton*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Rice, Keren. 1994. Laryngeal features in Athapaskan languages. *Phonology* 11(1). 107–147.



References IV

- Iverson, Gregory K. & Joseph C. Salmons. 1999. Laryngeal bias in Germanic. *Linguistische Berichte* 178. 135–151.
- Iverson, Gregory K. & Joseph C. Salmons. 2003a. Laryngeal enhancement in early Germanic. *Phonology* 20(1). 43–74.
- Iverson, Gregory K. & Joseph C. Salmons. 2003b. Legacy specification in the laryngeal phonology of Dutch. *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 15(1). 1–26.
- Iverson, Gregory K. & Joseph C. Salmons. 2007. Domains and directionality in the evolution of German final fortition. *Phonology* 24(1). 121–145.
- Jackson, Kenneth Hurlstone. 1960. The phonology of the Breton dialect of Plougrescant. *Études celtiques* 9. 327–404.
- Jansen, Wouter. 2004. *Laryngeal contrast and phonetic voicing: a Laboratory Phonology approach to English, Hungarian and Dutch*. Groningen: University of Groningen dissertation.
- Jessen, Michael & Catherine Ringen. 2002. Laryngeal features in German. *Phonology* 19. 189–218.
- Kingston, John & Randy L. Diehl. 1994. Phonetic knowledge. *Language* 70(3). 419–454.
- Kingston, John & Randy L. Diehl. 1995. Intermediate properties in the perception of distinctive feature values. In Amalia Arvaniti & Bruce Connell (eds.), *Papers in laboratory phonology* 8, 7–27. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.



References VI

- Rice, Keren. 2003. Featural markedness in phonology: variation. In Lisa Cheng & Rint Sybesma (eds.), *The second Glot International state-of-the-article book: the latest in linguistics* (Studies in Generative Grammar 61), 389–430. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Ringen, Catherine & Pétur Helgason. 2004. Distinctive [voice] does not imply regressive assimilation: evidence from Swedish. *International Journal of English Studies* 4(2). 53–71.
- Strycharczuk, Patrycja. 2010. What's in a word? Prosody in Polish voicing. Presentation at Manchester Phonology Meeting 18.
- Strycharczuk, Patrycja & Ellen Simon. forthcoming. Obstruent voicing before sonorants: the case of West Flemish. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*.
- Ternes, Elmar. 1970. *Grammaire structurale du breton de l'Île de Groix (dialecte occidental)*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.
- Vaux, Bert. 1998. The laryngeal specifications of fricatives. *Linguistic Inquiry* 29(3). 497–511.
- Westbury, John R. 1983. Enlargement of the supraglottal cavity and its relation to stop consonant voicing. *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 73(4). 1322–1336.
- Westbury, John R. & Patricia A. Keating. 1986. On the naturalness of stop consonant voicing. *Journal of Linguistics* 22(1). 145–166.
- Wetzels, W. Leo & Joan Mascaró. 2001. The typology of voicing and devoicing. *Language* 77. 207–244.

